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Commemorating the Grand Army of the Republic in Hawai'i: 1882–1930

WHILE MANY COMMUNITIES throughout the United States have conspicuous memorials to the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), an organization of Civil War Union veterans, or to its counterpart, the United Confederate Veterans, Hawai'i has only a simple cemetery plot to recognize the sacrifice of soldiers and sailors in the American Civil War (1861–1865). The absence of other or more prominent memorials is not wholly surprising. Hawai'i was an independent kingdom and not part of the United States when the American Civil War threatened to divide that nation. Despite the simplicity of Hawai'i's sole commemorative site for this war, the GAR plot in O'ahu Cemetery once drew considerable attention as the focal point for the annual Decoration Day commemorations, the forerunner to today's Memorial Day. Many of the 34 Civil War veterans buried in the plot, or those participating in the formal parades and ceremonies marking the celebration, played significant roles in the Kingdom of Hawai'i, the Republic of Hawai'i, and finally the Territory of Hawai'i. Newspapers and other

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The Hawaiian Journal of History, vol. 43 (2009)



Erupting volcanoes and coconut palms distinguish the official seal of the Hawai'i GAR post from that of its counterparts. Google Books.

periodicals of the day routinely and prominently covered this annual event, leaving a nearly continuous record of the role these Civil War veterans played in the history of a foreign land. These accounts portray changing political circumstances and the increasingly dominant role of the United States in the public affairs of the community.

The GAR had a relatively late start in Hawai'i. The national organization had been established on April 6, 1866. Membership in the GAR was restricted to honorably discharged Union veterans. At its peak national membership totaled more than 400,000; Hawai'i's post had only about 110 members all told during its roughly four decades of existence.

The local post was named for Capt. George Washington De Long when it was established Saturday, September 23, 1882. De Long, a U.S. Navy officer, led an ill-fated expedition that attempted to reach the North Pole via the Bering Strait aboard the bark *Jeannette*. He had died less than a year before, on October 31, 1881. This was the 45th



Comrade Chaplain J. A. Cruzan officially dedicated the newly-acquired GAR plot when it was formally established at O‘ahu Cemetery in 1884. At the time he was pastor of Fort Street Church, a Congregational church in Honolulu. *Hawaiian Gazette*, May 31, 1898.

post established within the California and Nevada department of the GAR.

GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC PLOT

The GAR plot that became the locus of ceremony was dedicated on Friday, May 30, 1884. A formal ceremony marked the transfer of title to the GAR post.

On arriving at the cemetery the Secretary, Mr. J.H. Paty, handed, with appropriate remarks, the deeds of the George W. De Long Post lot to Commander Samuel Nott, in the name of the trustees of the Oahu Cemetery. After receiving them the commander said: “In the name of my comrades of the Grand Army of the Republic, representing as they do all soldiers and sailors who defended and upheld the integrity and authority of the Federal Government of the United States of America, I

accept this deed and the sacred trust which it conveys. Comrade Chaplain Cruzan, you will now proceed to dedicate this lot to the uses and purposes for which it has been obtained—that of the last resting-place for the patriotic soldiers and sailors who may “fall on sleep” in this distant land.”¹

The plot measured roughly 38 feet across in the Ewa-Diamond Head axis and 55 feet from the *makai* to the *mauka* side, with space for six rows of nine graves. The GAR burial ground sits upslope of the main road entering O‘ahu Cemetery, roughly half way between the gate and the chapel. A flagpole at the center of the plot, the current one erected in 1955, provides a highly visible marker for the site.

Although the GAR plot itself had no graves at its 1884 dedication, many Civil War veterans were already buried at O‘ahu Cemetery. Cruzan noted: “Aye, here beneath the sunny skies and evergreen peaks of Oahu, rest a number of those who offered their lives that the nation might live.”² The *Hawaiian Gazette* recorded scant mention of the opening ceremony of the plot, noting only: “The town turned out well for Decoration Day. Most of the ladies present at the ceremonies were dressed in black.”³ That day, Nathaniel Bright Emerson delivered the main address. Emerson, the son of American missionaries, was born in Waialua, O‘ahu, in 1839. As a 23-year-old student at Williams College in Williamstown, Massachusetts, Emerson enlisted as a private in the 1st Massachusetts Infantry. He saw service at the major battles of Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville in Virginia, and the decisive Battle of Gettysburg in Pennsylvania. He studied medicine after the war and returned to Hawai‘i in 1879 where he served as general inspector of the Kalaupapa and Kaka‘ako leper stations. Emerson is now better known as a scholar of native Hawaiian lore and customs and as a translator of major works originally written in the Hawaiian language.

King David Kalākaua lent his support to the observance of Decoration Day and authorized the formation of the local GAR post.⁴ In 1875,

¹ “Memorial Day,” *PCA*, 31 May 1884: 2.

² “Memorial Day,” *PCA*, 31 May 1884: 2.

³ “Island Locals,” *HG*, 4 Jun. 1884: 3.

⁴ “G.A.R., Geo. W. De Long Post, Grand Army of the Republic, Fourth Annual Camp Fire,” *Daily Herald*, 27 Sep. 1986: 3.



The GAR plot at O'ahu Cemetery as it appears today with four cannons marking the plot's official corners. The four rows of GAR graves extend upslope to the flag pole in the middle of the official plot.

nine years before the plot's dedication, he allowed the celebration of Decoration Day to take place in the kingdom, going so far as to having the local militia and band take part in the memorial event. Although celebrated in a foreign land, local businesses paid homage to the day: "In the morn flags were displayed at half-mast by the shipping in the harbor and also on the flagstuffs in the city."⁵ Kalākaua also contributed to the design of the plot by giving the GAR cannons to mark its location. As noted in the *Daily Herald* in 1886, "the King gave them five guns, one for each corner and one for the center" at the time of the GAR purchased the plot.⁶ This was confirmed by GAR members in 1904: "King Kalakaua gave us cannon to put around our plot in Nuuanu cemetery."⁷ The uniqueness of this design feature is that a king honored the dead of another country's war. It is not surprising

⁵ "Memorial Day," *PCA*, 31 May 1884: 2.

⁶ "G.A.R., Geo. W. De Long Post, Grand Army of the Republic, Fourth Annual Camp Fire," *Daily Herald*, 27 Sep. 1986: 3.

⁷ "The Grand Army Post Has Annual Camp Fire," *HG*, 28 Sep. 1904: 2.

given Kalākaua's profound interest in military matters. After talking with the king, Civil War General Emory Upton concluded "that his knowledge of military manoeuvres and strategies was most creditable, and, no doubt, exceeded that of most of the militia officers of the United States."⁸ Kalākaua's generosity came at the peak of his reign. In 1881, a year before the founding of Hawai'i's GAR chapter, he had just completed a circumnavigation of the world, the first by a head of state of any country.

During the following year, in 1885, members of the George W. De Long GAR Post would march up Nu'uanu Avenue twice in May. The post was accorded a prominent role in the funeral procession of Queen Emma on May 17th. Seventh in line, the GAR members preceded the Governor of O'ahu, the Royal Hawaiian Band, and the Honolulu Rifles.⁹ Less than two weeks later GAR members marched for their own ceremony.

The graves of two veterans—George T. Shipley and Charles B. Wilson—provided the focal point for the 1885 ceremony. The simple stones, located on the western side of the second row of graves, list only their names and branch of service or regiment. Even the names, in raised relief, are in abbreviated form: "G.T. Shipley" and "Chas. Willson," the latter name misspelled. "In this lot, which is surrounded by a chain upheld by cannon at the corners, are the graves of two of America's veterans, who have died on these islands, away from their homes and relatives, and been cared for here by their former comrades in arms."¹⁰ Shipley, a Boston, Massachusetts, native had died in Honolulu five years earlier. During the Civil War he had served as an assistant surgeon with the U.S. Navy. After coming to Honolulu in 1869, Shipley practiced surgery on Kaua'i and Hawai'i Island.¹¹ Wil-

⁸ William N. Armstrong, *Around the World with a King* (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1995) 15.

⁹ "Last Sad and Solemn Rites to the Departed Queen Dowager," *HG*, 20 May 1885: 2.

¹⁰ "Last Sad and Solemn Rites to the Departed Queen Dowager," *HG*, 20 May 1885: 2.

¹¹ "George T. Shipley," Mamiya Medical Heritage Center, Hawaii Medical Library, The Queen's Medical Center, <http://web.archive.org/web/20070622080310/http://hml.org/mmhc/mdindex/shipley.html>.



The simple grave markers of George T. Shipley and Charles Wilson were the first erected in the GAR plot. The markers for Samuel McKeague and Frederick Sherman are in the row immediately behind.

son served in the Civil War as a private with the 4th New York Calvary. The regiment fought in the battles of Manassas and 2nd Bull Run before Wilson was given a disability discharge on January 7, 1863. The presence of the first two graves in the official plot of the George W. De Long Post also provided the impetus to recognize the other veterans whose graves were scattered throughout O‘ahu Cemetery and in other cemeteries. In previous Decoration Day ceremonies the GAR had visited each of the graves in O‘ahu Cemetery, but the new plot presented an ideal location for honoring all in one location. “At the head of their graves was a pyramidal cenotaph, on which was inscribed the names of those whom Hawaii claims as her loyal American dead. The cenotaph, as well as the old cannon mounted in the center of the lot was covered with flowers.”¹² The cenotaph, a marker recognizing the

¹² “Memorial Day,” *PCA*, 1 Jun. 1885: 2.

GAR members buried elsewhere, served to further centralize the day of remembrance.¹³ Today the “pyramidal cenotaph” and the “old cannon mounted in the center of the lot” no longer exist at the site. The four cannons marking the corners of the GAR plot, however, remain along with the eyebolts that once secured the end of the chains.

The second year of the plot, 1886, saw yet another prominent figure in Hawai‘i, Sanford Ballard Dole, future president of the Republic of Hawai‘i, recite “an elegant extract” from the nationally renowned orator and Civil War veteran Robert G. Ingersoll, a speaker known for three-hour speeches. That year, Emerson, now post commander, led the members in a precise ceremony. On the conclusion of the 1886 address, comrade Volney V. Ashford rose and after a modest preamble, delivered an address upon the profession of arms.¹⁴

Across the Pacific, the Twentieth National Encampment of the GAR took place in San Francisco the following August.¹⁵ There King Kalākaua’s earlier actions of support for the Hawai‘i GAR post set the stage for GAR members to establish additional international posts. When members in the Dominion of Canada sought to establish posts, GAR Commander-in-Chief Samuel S. Burdett, still sought an opinion of the organization’s Judge Advocate General regarding the proposed action “notwithstanding the precedent already set within the territory of the King of the Sandwich Islands, by the establishment of a post at Honolulu.”¹⁶ The concerns of the commander, delivered the first day of the proceedings, are haunting in light of future actions by GAR members in Hawai‘i:

There is no country, save our own, within which a disbanded army yet strong enough for conquest could be permitted to band itself together to meet in secret conclave, and to pledge obedience to its own laws. Whether the organization in a foreign country of an integral part of

¹³ A cenotaph is a monument honoring the dead buried elsewhere. The Cenotaph in London, for example, provides a focal point for Great Britain’s national remembrance of World War I.

¹⁴ “Memorial Day Services,” *HG*, 1 Jun. 1886: 3.

¹⁵ An “Encampment” was the annual, nation-wide meeting of the GAR.

¹⁶ Ward, William H., *Records of Members of the Grand Army of the Republic with a Complete Account of the Twentieth National Encampment* (San Francisco: H.S. Crocker & Co., 1886) 66.

such a force—to meet under, and pledge undying fealty to the flag and government of another people—might not be misunderstood, and excite suspicion, jealousy, and even hostility, seems to me worthy of consideration.¹⁷

Also that day, the California Department, “on behalf of the De Long Post of Honolulu presented the national encampment with a handsome gavel and case made of native woods of the Sandwich Islands.”¹⁸

The following month, on September 25, 1886, the local post held its Fourth Annual Camp Fire. Post Commander R.W. Laine shared a different perspective regarding the speeches at the national gathering:

At the National Encampment in San Francisco reference was made in appreciative terms to the Post for its success and to His Majesty for allowing them to form an organization of this kind, a peculiarly American association in a foreign country. His Majesty had been very kind to them on all occasions, and he was very sorry that he was not there.”¹⁹

Following Laine’s speech, the toasts offered to dignitaries and the accompanying music provided an ironic coupling: “the first being His Majesty the King which was responded to by the Band playing Hawaii Ponoī [Hawai‘i’s Own]. The Queen, the Heir Apparent, and the rest of the royal family was the next toast responded to by the band giving Aloha Oe [Farewell to Thee].”²⁰

Volney V. Ashford, Officer of the Day at the Fourth Annual Camp Fire, also addressed the De Long Post that day on “The Military Forces of Hawaii.” The *Daily Herald* wrote of Ashford:

His sympathy with the Hawaiian military began before his connection therewith having felt deeply their friendship in turning out so strongly on Decoration Day. He spoke of the value of a military force even in a country like this where need might occur in such a mixed population of dealing with internal disturbance. He favored the organization of the

¹⁷ Ward, *Records of Members*, 66.

¹⁸ Ward, *Records of Members*, 79.

¹⁹ “G.A.R.,” *Daily Herald*, 27 Sep. 1886: 3.

²⁰ “G.A.R.,” *Daily Herald*, 27 Sep. 1886: 3.

military forces of Hawaii and in opposition to the popular impression that military service was necessarily demoralizing, instanced the procession of 15,000 GAR comrades in San Francisco in which not a man was intoxicated. He thanked the Post for their compliment to the Hawaiian military and assured them that the kindly feeling was reciprocated.²¹

The 1887 ceremony was unremarkable, aside from the oration by Rowland Jay Greene that he delivered according to the *Hawaiian Gazette* "in his usual able manner, mingling pathos and wit in ever varying shades."²²

BAYONET CONSTITUTION

Coming at the heels of the 1887 ceremony, however, was an event that would have a profound impact on the future of the monarchy, the promulgation of the Constitution of 1887, often referred to as the "Bayonet Constitution." Although mainly credited to Lorrin Thurston, two GAR members, Nathaniel Emerson and Jonathan Austin, were among the 18 "persons chiefly engaged in writing the constitution."²³ The bayonets were supplied by the Honolulu Rifles under the leadership of yet another GAR member, attorney Volney Ashford. Under the revised constitution the ministers flexed their newly established prerogatives. GAR member Jonathan Austin tested the new political realities, sending a request to Lili'uokalani; who later wrote:

[The request] was from Mr. Jonathan Austin, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, asking me if I would be one of a council of regency to take charge of the government during the expected absence of the king. I immediately sent my husband, Governor Dominis, to inform His Majesty and his cabinet that I would accept the regency, but only to be sole regent in the king's place and stead; that the cabinet had full power to act upon all measures relating to the administration of government; that were I one of a council of regency there would be no executive;

²¹ "G.A.R.," *Daily Herald*, 27 Sep. 1886: 3.

²² "Memorial Day," *HG*, 31 May 1887: 5.

²³ Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom 1874-1893* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1967) 387, footnote.

and that this was the second time I had been obliged to state my position and decline such an arrangement.²⁴

Aside from the gift of the cannons, no record mentions the actual attendance of King Kalākaua at any of the annual ceremonies, though at least one member of royalty appeared at a Decoration Day ceremony; among those attending the May 30, 1888, ceremonies were Princess Kaʻiulani and her father Archibald S. Cleghorn.²⁵ Kalākaua is, however, recorded as receiving an American admiral at ʻIolani Palace on Decoration Day, presumably an official recognition of the day's importance to citizens of the United States.

Commenting on the 1889 Decoration Day, the *Hawaiian Gazette* reported: "Indeed such a display as yesterday's has never before been seen in this beautiful cemetery. Such a wealth of flowers suggested to more than one, 'Where could they all have come from?' In the Grand Army Plot, inscribed on a tablet, were the following names: Charles Wilson, Joshua B. Dickson, J.S. McKay, C.H. Rose, H.A. Scott, G.P. Shiply, Philip J. Louth, Jos. Tilden, E.S. Harvey, H.W. Ramsey."²⁷ Of these, only Shipley, Wilson, Harvey, Tilden, and Louth were buried in the plot.

The American diplomatic corps and military were clearly evident in the 1890 Decoration Day commemoration. Detachments of marines and blue jackets marched in front of the GAR members. A carriage with Minister John L. Stevens, the United States minister who would later call U.S. troops to aid in the overthrow of the monarchy, and Consul-General H.W. Severance followed in a carriage close behind. The parade route had been modified that year to go by the harbor so the forces from the USS *Adams* and USS *Nipsic* could join the parade.²⁷

That same year two GAR members were on opposite sides of an issue. As minister of foreign affairs, Austin was forced by the Supreme Court, in the 1890 decision in *Chock Kem vs. Austin*, to issue a permit

²⁴ Liliuokalani, *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1898) 190.

²⁵ "Memorial Day," *PCA*, 31 May 1888: 2.

²⁶ *HG*, 4 Jun. 1889: 3.

²⁷ "Decoration Day," *HG*, 3 Jun. 1890: 7.

to allow the son of a Chinese resident, Ah Sung, to enter the country.²⁸ Austin's fellow GAR member, Volney Ashford, represented the Chinese petitioner before the court.

The following year Nathaniel Emerson delivered the Decoration Day address titled "Comrades of the Grand Army of the Republic."²⁹ GAR member Volney Ashford nearly missed the following year's ceremonies. On May 20, 1892, Ashford was arrested "from among a company of alleged conspirators against the government."³⁰ Represented by fellow GAR member, Judge Alfred Stedman Hartwell, Ashford was later released. At the May 30th ceremonies in 1892, Minister John L. Stevens recognized the eventual demise of the veteran group in his oration:

The surviving Union veterans will soon pass away. The sharp sickle of Death is rapidly making its harvest in their ranks. Let those still living have the nation's gratitude in awarding them. . . . Now and forever, let Americans and all friends of Constitutional Liberty, scatter flowers on the graves of the Union defenders, and there come often to draw inspiration from their illustrious example."³¹

OVERTHROW OF THE MONARCHY

On January 17, 1893, GAR members Emerson, Austin, and Ashford realized their hopes with the overthrow of the monarchy. A day earlier two other GAR members had played prominent roles in a public rally: William C. Wilder, who presided over the meeting, and R. Jay Greene, who delivered an "earnest" address.³² Wilder was later elected vice president of the Provisional Government, the governing body

²⁸ Hawaii Supreme Court, *Reports of Decisions Rendered by the Supreme Court of the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Co., 1893) 688–93.

²⁹ Nathaniel Bright Emerson, "Comrades of the Grand Army of the Republic: Speech, Final Draft," (Huntington Library, 1891) Nathaniel Bright Emerson Papers 1766–1944, Manuscript Department, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

³⁰ Thomas Thrum, "Retrospective for 1892," *HAA* (1893) 115.

³¹ *HG*, 31 May 1892.

³² Thomas Thrum, *Addenda to Hawaiian Annual Almanac and Annual for 1893* (Honolulu: 1892) 3. Note the addenda follows page 150 of the 1893 annual.

that would replace Queen Lili'uokalani's government after the revolution.³³ Wilder was also one of five "Commissioners to Washington empowered to negotiate a treaty of Union with the United States."³⁴ Commissioners left Hawai'i bound for San Francisco on January 19, 1893.

The first Memorial Day following the overthrow featured a speech by William R. Castle, member of the 13-member Committee of Safety. Though he was born in the Kingdom of Hawai'i, Castle clearly saw America as home. Castle said:

Far away from the home land in these sunny islands of the Pacific, in this outpost of American civilization, it is well for this American colony to devote a day to reviving the memories of the glorious past, and thus to keep alive the sacred flame of patriotic love for the Fatherland. In all countries we ought to present such a pure and perfect type of republican America that all shall desire the boon of Americanism, that there shall be only respect for the institutions of democracy.³⁵

KALALAU CASUALTY

One of those institutions of democracy—the rule of law—would provide an early test of the Provisional Government as it attempted to enforce the health regulations concerning leprosy. The government sent a company of soldiers to Kaua'i on American Independence Day, 1893. Among the men charged with bringing in persons avoiding transfer to Kalaupapa was GAR member John McCabe. Although the first group was rounded up without incident, the remaining person, a Hawaiian man named Kaluaiko'olau, used his shooting skills and knowledge of the land to avoid capture. McCabe was shot in the head on the second day during an attempt to capture him.³⁶ Though not a

³³ "Will Please Everybody: Hon. W.C. Wilder Is Elected Vice President," *PCA*, 30 May 1893: 5.

³⁴ Thomas Thrum, *Addenda*, 8.

³⁵ "Memorial Day," *PCA*, 31 May 1893: 4.

³⁶ Jack London wrote a short story called Koolau the Leper in *The House of Pride and Other Tales of Hawaii* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1919) 47–91. A firsthand account is given by Kaluaiko'olau's wife in *The True Story of Kaluaikoolau: As Told by His Wife, Piilani*, Frances N. Frazier (Translator) (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001).

member of the George De Long Post, McCabe, a veteran of the 13th New York Heavy Artillery Regiment, was laid to rest in the GAR plot. Kaluaiko'olau was never captured and spent his remaining time in Kalalau Valley.

Less than a year after the overthrow, the local GAR contingent to the 28th encampment in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, marched with the Hawaiian flag.

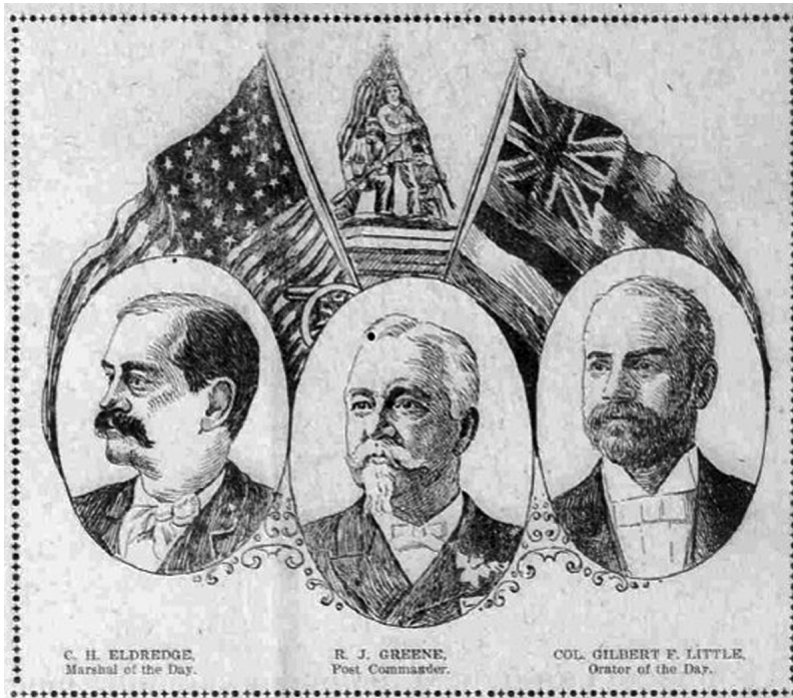
When a delegation of two, proudly bearing aloft the barred flag of Hawaii beside the Stars and Stripes and the colors of California, put in an appearance with the California delegation, there-were-wild huzzahs both for the men from the Golden State and those from the Pacific isles, and many realized for the first time that the Grand Army of the Republic is a brotherhood so far reaching that it may be practically said to circle the globe."³⁷

According to the *Hawaiian Gazette*, the 1895 ceremony was "the most elaborate that have been held in this country," drawing 5,000 to the plot. In addition "the line of march of the parade was lined with lookers-on of every shade and nationality." In attendance were the top governmental and military leaders in Hawai'i, including Sanford Ballard Dole, president of the newly established Republic of Hawai'i. The address of the day was delivered by Lorrin A. Thurston, a member of the Hawaiian League, which had helped overthrow the monarchy. "It is peculiarly fitting that here, in far away Hawai'i, we should simultaneously with the millions across the water be assembled for the purpose we are. Since the stars and stripes first fluttered in the friendly breezes of Honolulu a subtle bond of sympathy has bound Hawai'i and America together, which distance cannot break nor time interrupt."³⁸

By 1897 the annexation movement was making its case nationally. A writer to the *New York Times* expressed opposition to annexation, noting:

³⁷ "No Meddling With Politics; Strong Sentiment Among Grand Army Veterans," *New York Times*, 12 Sep. 1894: 1.

³⁸ *The Independent*, 31 May 1895: 4.



Portraits of C.H. Eldredge, Marshal of the Day, GAR Post Commander Rowland J. Greene, and Orator of the Day, Col. Gilbert F. Little, illustrate the June 1, 1897 *Hawaiian Gazette* article recounting that year's Decoration Day events. Rowland Greene was buried in the GAR plot in 1916.

An address is being circulated throughout the country purporting to come from Hawaiian branches of the Sons of the American Revolution, the Sons of Veterans, and the Grand Army of the Republic, advocating the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands. One would naturally suppose that all these "Sons" of all these great associations must aggregate a vast number of Americans whose nationality entitles them to the protection of our Government, even though such protection should precipitate hostilities with Japan, or even with European powers. Judge of my surprise, then, when looking over the last census of the Hawaiian Islands I find that out of less than 100,000 people there are of natives, 31,019; of half-breeds, 8,405; of Chinese, 21,616; of Japanese, 24,401; Portuguese, 15,191; English, 2,250; Germans, 1,432, and of all of these

nationalities that there are but 3,086 Americans, who represent Sons of the Revolution, Sons of Veterans, and Grand Army of the Republic!"³⁹

The Daughters of the American Revolution in 1897 cited the presence of the Grand Army of the Republic and its activities as evidence of a de facto American colony: "During our Civil War Hawaii contributed much more than its quota of Americans to maintain the Union. . . . On Decoration Day the Post of the Grand Army of the Republic repairs to the cemetery to keep green the memory of the soldiers who lie buried there."⁴⁰ To point out the ability of the United States to civilize the Philippines, the writer included the presence in Honolulu of "a post of the Grand Army of the Republic, a camp of the Sons of Veterans."⁴¹

Meanwhile Lili'uokalani traveled to Washington D.C., attempting to reverse the overthrow. Although the Hawai'i GAR organization was a strong proponent of the annexation of the islands, the very cause that Lili'uokalani had gone to Washington to oppose, she nevertheless thanked the national organization that greeted her in Washington shortly after the inauguration of President McKinley in 1897. "At Arlington," the queen wrote in her memoirs, "on Decoration Day, I was overwhelmed with pleasant attentions by the Grand Army of the Republic."⁴²

HAWAI'I UNDER THE UNITED STATES FLAG

After the initial annexation ceremony in 1898, Hawai'i became a United States territory in 1900 and members of the Grand Army of the Republic exercised some of the political power that the GAR had possessed on a national level. Presidents Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Harrison, and McKinley were all GAR members. An example of the influ-

³⁹ "The Problem of Hawaii: Real Designs of the American Residents Who Seek Annexation," *New York Times*, 15 Jul. 1897: 4.

⁴⁰ "The Hawaiian Islands," *The American Monthly* (1897) 273.

⁴¹ Shaw, Albert, "American and the 'Malay' in Hawaii," *The American Monthly Review of Reviews* (April 1899) 459.

⁴² Liliuokalani, *Hawaii's Story*, 347-348.

ence wielded by the organization is that one of the first laws enacted by the first territorial legislature was Act 5, "to prohibit the unlawful wearing of badge of the Grand Army of the Republic."⁴³

The oration at the following year's ceremony reflected on the change of citizen status brought about by annexation. "To many, if not most, of the newly made Americans, the little cluster of graves gathered under the Stars and Stripes that drooped half-mast from its pole, possesses little significance as yet."⁴⁴ Acting Governor Henry E. Cooper attended the 1901 ceremonies.

The local members of the GAR included the children of American missionaries. In outlining the history of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, the Civil War involvement is recorded: "During the earlier years of the decade these records abound in echoes from the camps and battlefields of the Civil War, where, so gallantly strove S.C. Armstrong, H.M. Lyman, N.B. Emerson and others of the Young Cousins of those days."⁴⁵ Among the young cousins was Charles H. Dickey, 1902 president of the society.

Louis L. LaPierre missed the 1903 ritual, sick with dengue fever, but survived for another 21 years.

By 1905 the Memorial Day ritual served as a ground of reconciliation between Union and Confederate veterans. At least two members of the Confederate army were mentioned prominently in a speech. The commemoration of 1907 saw 27 veterans in attendance.

The following year 18 attended the ceremonies to hear a fellow Civil War veteran, Capt. Corwin P. Rees, deliver the day's speech.⁴⁶ In contrast, the 1909 speech was delivered by the son of a Confederate veteran, College of Hawai'i President John W. Gilmore. "As a member of the second generation from those who took part in this memorable conflict, and as the son of a Confederate soldier, I wish to thank you for this occasion. . . . Without affectation, permit me to say that the courage, heroism and patriotism that caused you to

⁴³ Thomas Thrum, "Laws Passed at First Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii, 1901," *HAA* (1901) 156.

⁴⁴ "Decoration Day," *HG*, 31 May 1901: 10.

⁴⁵ *HG*, 23 May 1902: 1.

⁴⁶ "Pay the Tribute of Flowers and Remembrance," *PCA*, 31 May 1908: 2.

go into this conflict is practically beyond my ability to conceive.”⁴⁷ The *Hawaiian Gazette* called the speech “a sign of the reunited country.”⁴⁸ On the way to the Nu‘uanu plot, the members stopped. “As the G.A.R. tally-ho reached the bridge crossing the Nuuanu stream below Bates Street, a veteran left the carriage, and, accompanied by Captain Rees,⁴⁹ went to the parapet, where each dropped a cluster of daisies upon the water which pursued its lazy way down the stream between grassy banks. This was in honor of the comrades who lost their lives in service of the Union upon the sea and rivers during the rebellion.”⁵⁰

The 1909 ceremony also reflected the joining of veterans groups as the 17 remaining members of the post were joined at the plot by veterans of the 1898 Spanish-American War.⁵¹

The 23 members who attended the 1910 remembrance represented a peak for GAR attendance. The orator of the 1910 ceremonies once again cited the reconciliation between the Union and Confederate soldiers and sailors: “But I am going to say something now that you may think I should have left unsaid: don’t forget the boys in gray who fought on the other side, and whom you found worthy foes for your steel.”⁵²

The 1911 ceremony featured Charles A Cottrill, collector of U.S. Internal Revenue, whom the *Hawaiian Gazette* called “a member of that race variety whose present possibilities are due to the victory of union arms.”⁵³ Appointed by President William Taft in 1911, Cottrill was the first African-American to be appointed to a federal position in Hawai‘i, a position he held until 1915.⁵⁴

⁴⁷ “Memorial Day Observed by Military Parade, Band Music and Oratory,” *HG*, 1 Jun. 1909: 5.

⁴⁸ “Memorial Day Observed by Military Parade, Band Music and Oratory,” *HG*, 1 Jun. 1909: 5.

⁴⁹ Captain Rees was Commandant of the Pearl Harbor Naval Station at the time.

⁵⁰ “Memorial Day Observed by Military Parade, Band Music and Oratory,” *HG*, 1 Jun. 1909: 5.

⁵¹ “Memorial Day Observed by Military Parade, Band Music and Oratory,” *HG*, 1 Jun. 1909: 5.

⁵² “Flowers on Comrades Graves,” *HG*, 31 May 1910: 3.

⁵³ “Citizens Unite with War Veterans in Decorating Graves of Their Dead,” *HG*, 2 Jun. 1911: 7.

⁵⁴ Mather, Frank L., *Who’s Who of the Colored Race: A General Biographical Dictionary of Men and Women of African Descent*, vol. 1 (Chicago: Half-Century Anniversary of Negro Freedom in U.S., 1915) 78.



To mark Decoration Day in 1911, the May 30th issue of the *Hawaiian Gazette* includes this illustration of four men and a youth paying their respects as Uncle Sam lays a wreath at a grave. Labels on their hats and their attire indicate they represent, from left to right, veterans of the Spanish American War and the Civil War, active duty officers, the non-commissioned military (the individual with darker skin), and the Boy Scouts.

At the 46th National Encampment in 1912, John W. Francis of the Hawai'i GAR post was named aide-de-camp of the GAR commander in chief. By 1912 the GAR members participating in the Memorial Day observances had dropped to 16, but "in that setting in the eyes of every spectator they were transfigured and stood there beside the graves of their dead comrades in heroic guise, sacred, like votive priests at the high altar of patriotism." Attending the ceremonies were the state's foremost politicians: "Acting Governor Ernest A. Mott-Smith, Wallace Rider Farrington, orator of the occasion, and Mayor Joseph J. Fern."⁵⁵ The ceremonies were attended by an "immense throng

⁵⁵ "City Turns Out to Pay Homage to Soldier Dead," *HG*, 31 May 1912: 1.

which crowded the graveyard and overflowed into Nuuanu Street.”⁵⁶ The description of the post commander reflects the changes in members: “Captain Francis, in his extreme decrepitude, was a pathetic figure in the line of his comrades and it was necessary to carry him from the automobile in which he arrived to his seat beside the graves and yet it would have been a keen disappointment for the old veteran to have missed the opportunity to assemble with his fellow members of the post and honor his former friends and fellow soldiers in their last resting place.”⁵⁷

The 1913 ceremonies, led by Post Commander Richard D. Ellsworth, drew an estimated crowd of 5,000 to the GAR plot. An explicit mention of blacks in the audience comes in the *Hawaiian Gazette* report of the 1913 Memorial Day. “Off to one side” the account reads, “upright, of manly frame and meekly bare of head, stood descendants of the very race these aged heroes had fought so stoutly to free.”⁵⁸ Note that four seamen, all born in Hawai‘i, had served with the United States Colored Troops (USCT) to assure Union victory. Joseph Bush, enlisted in 1864, in Lawrence, Massachusetts, as a private with Co. H, 23rd Infantry Regiment of the USCT and Peter Johnson joined the 29th Connecticut Volunteer Infantry (Colored) in 1864. Charles Heatley served with the 5th Massachusetts Colored Cavalry starting in 1864 while John Adams enlisted in 1865 with Co. K, 6th US Colored Infantry. Johnson, Heatley, and most likely Bush, died during the war.

In 1915, Post Commander Edwin A. Strout read the ritual. The speaker that day, Judge Thomas B. Stewart, reflecting on the 50 years since the Civil War, said, “The epithets of ‘traitor’ and ‘rebel’ are not applicable to either side and should we not truthfully say that they each loyally contended for family and friends, as they respectively understood their rights.”⁵⁹ Less than two months after he read the prayer at the Memorial Day commemoration, Nathaniel Emerson, the second Post Commander of GAR, died while returning to San

⁵⁶ “City Turns Out to Pay Homage to Soldier Dead,” *HG*, 31 May 1912: 1.

⁵⁷ “City Turns Out to Pay Homage to Soldier Dead,” *HG*, 31 May 1912: 5.

⁵⁸ “Honolulu’s Share in Honoring Nation’s Dead is Carried Out,” *HG*, 3 Jun. 1913: 5.

⁵⁹ “Tribute Paid to Memory of Dead,” *PCA*, 31 May 1915.

Francisco from Alaska on the steamer *Congress*.⁶⁰ Instead of a gravesite next to James Lutton in the GAR plot, Emerson is buried elsewhere in Oahu Cemetery.

In the years preceding the entry of the United States in World War I, pacifists worked to avoid United States involvement in that war. Such sentiment led the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* to editorialize: "There are only a few of them left, these grand old men of the Grand Army, but never a one of them that lacks today the same patriotism that he proved in the face of the enemy."⁶¹

As the ranks of the GAR thinned, only 15 GAR remained by 1916, and two had died the previous year,⁶² the commemoration of Memorial Day as a Civil War remembrance also began to change. The holiday, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* noted, "is becoming more and more an observance in honor of all the soldier dead. The veterans of the Spanish American War promise a few years hence to step into the breach left by the Grand Army. Only a few years of life remain to the survivors of the Civil War."⁶³

Four more veterans switched to the Roll Call of Dead before the 1917 ceremony. "A little handful of men—11 in all—made up the George W. De Long post of the G.A.R.—the real heroes of the entire day, whose stooping figures and grayed locks told all too well how time is thinning their ranks."⁶⁴ The GAR once again served as a touchstone for patriotism. "The old men who pass down the street," the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* editorial read, "are the living monuments, not to 1864, but to 1917. This is their cause. It has come again. It is the cause of liberty, and it is sweet to them because they fought for it."⁶⁵

The 1918 parade featured "the veterans of the Civil War who were members of the now defunct Grand Army Post of Honolulu. Too feeble to march, they were compelled to ride in an automobile."⁶⁶ The

⁶⁰ "Doctor Emerson Dies on Return Voyage to Alaska," *PCA*, 19 Jul. 1915: 1.

⁶¹ "The Veterans," *PCA*, 31 May 1916: 4.

⁶² "Honolulu plans great memorial day observance," *PCA*, 30 May 1916: 9.

⁶³ "Grand Army Plot in Cemetery is Flower-Laden," *PCA*, 31 May 1916: 1, 8.

⁶⁴ "In Days of War Pause is Taken to Pay Tribute to Heroic Dead," *HSB*, 30 May 1917: 2.

⁶⁵ "Still Marching On," *PCA*, 30 May 1917: 4.

⁶⁶ "Entire City Pays Tribute to Nation's Heroic Dead," *PCA*, 31 May 1918: 3.

GAR was remembered for its legacy: "Of the old-time George W. De Long Post, Grand Army of the Republic, which was so long, through various kingly reigns in Honolulu, a conspicuous organization, five men reported for duty yesterday, wearing their black campaign hats, and proudly upon their breasts the GAR emblem."⁶⁷ The ones who answered: J.C. Cannon, Louis L. La Pierre, Dana B. Newell, Peter Dubois, and George Washington Smith.⁶⁸ The following year's roll call had one less name—George Washington Smith. The ritual was conducted, not by the GAR, but by the Veterans of Foreign Wars.⁶⁹ Sanford Ballard Dole presided over the 1920 ceremonies.

The remembrance of the Civil War was quickly slipping away. "We were getting so far away from the Civil War, even from the Spanish American War, that to many Memorial Day was without special significance; it was merely a holiday."⁷⁰ That the memory was quickly fading is no great surprise. Though both wars had participants from Hawai'i, the soldiers and sailors from the Kingdom of Hawai'i and later Republic of Hawai'i served in another country's war.

At the same time as the 1921 GAR ceremony in Honolulu, another commemoration took place across the channel on Moloka'i. Using a flag sent him by the 47th Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic, Brother Joseph Dutton commemorated Decoration Day. Born Ira B. Dutton, the Kalaupapa resident had served during the Civil War with Co. B, 13th Wisconsin Regiment, which he left at war's end with the rank of captain. He dedicated his life to the Hansen's disease patients of Kalaupapa, working beside Father Damien. Albert Pierce Taylor, in *Under Hawaiian Skies*, related the special GAR ceremony:

Early in June, last year, Brother Dutton sent me a photograph showing that beautiful G. A. R. flag being lowered to half-mast in front of his little office at Kalawao, on May 30, 1921—Memorial Day—and he himself is seen handling the halyards. Behind the office and the fringe of leper boys one sees the towering precipices (palis) which form the

⁶⁷ "Entire City Pays Tribute to Nation's Heroic Dead," *PCA*, 31 May 1918: 3.

⁶⁸ "Entire City Pays Tribute to Nation's Heroic Dead," *PCA*, 31 May 1918: 3.

⁶⁹ "All Wisdom Seen in Final Result," *PCA*, 31 May 1919: 2.

⁷⁰ "Lest We Forget," *PCA*, 30 May 1919: 4.



James Devlin was the last to be buried in the GAR plot and the last surviving Civil War veteran in Hawai'i. He was 17 years old when the Civil War ended.

background of the peninsula, or tongue of land, which comprises the settlement upon the island of Molokai—a precipice which is unscaleable to the inmates.⁷¹

A floral decoration was sent the following year to the Honolulu ceremonies by the residents of Kalaupapa. “This tribute from the ‘Lonely Isle’ was one of the many things which made Memorial day of 1922 unique in Hawaii’s history.”⁷² Addressing the “handful of veterans of the Grand Army of the Republic,” Senator Albert Judd read from the

⁷¹ Albert Pierce Taylor, *Under Hawaiian Skies: A Narrative of the Romance, Adventure and History of the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu: Advertiser Publishing Company, 1922) 353.

⁷² “Solemn March Pays Tribute to Hero Dead,” *HA*, 31 May 1922: 2.

<p>SERVED IN ARMY AND U.S.S. PONTOOSUC AT REST</p> <p>EDWIN A. STROUT 1851–1917</p>	<p>JAMES DEVLIN JAN 1 1848 JAN. 19, 1932 [CO. C. 10TH TENN. CAV.] SARAH JANE DEVLIN NOV. 7, 1852 OCT. 21, 1936</p>			
<p>SAM SAMUEL KENNEDY McKEAGUE AUG. 2, 1847 JAN. 26, 1912 CO. E. 38-186, PA. VOL 1861–1865 AT REST</p>	<p>FRED K SHERMAN CO. A 6 CAL. INF.</p>	<p>P.W. RIDER MAR. 16, 1848 MAY 5, 1913 CO. A. 151ST OHIO VOL., [Phares Rider 1913]</p>	<p>CAPT. R.D. ELLSWORTH 1861–1865 CO. E-9, ILL.CAV. 1829–1913 [Richard Ellsworth 1913]</p>	<p>AT REST</p> <p>JOHN W. FRANCIS 1842–1914 Co. K, 23 Mo. Vol. INF. MARCHED WITH SHERMAN TO THE SEA</p>
<p>G. T. SHIPLEY Surgeon U.S. NAVY [George Shipley 1884]</p>	<p>CHAS. WILLSON CO. E, 4TH N.Y. CAV. [Charles Wilson 1884]</p>	<p>EDWARD L. HARVEY Born at Boston Mass. <i>Died at Honolulu</i> July 3, 1885, Aged 38 years. 42ND Mass. Vols.</p>	<p>JOSEPH TILDEN <i>Born</i> at Lowell Mass. U.S.A. Dec. 12, 1838, Died at Honolulu HI July 7, 1885, Captain 55TH Massachusetts Volunteers.</p>	<p>JAMES W. RAMEY <i>BORN</i> in Perry Co. Ohio JULY 10, 1837. DIED IN HONOLULU NOV. 10, 1885. 92ND OHIO VOL.</p>
<p>GEO. L. BARCOCK A Native of Boston Mass. DIED IN HONOLULU DEC 9, 1892 AGED 65 YEARS. 44TH MASS. VOLUNTEERS.</p>	<p>JNO. McCABE CO. M, 3 R.L.H.A. [John McCabe 1893]</p>	<p>GEO. W. YARICK Co. K, 19TH Wis. Vol's, SPRINGFIELD, OHIO, SEPT. 24TH 1830 WAILUKU, MAUI, H.I.S. JUNE 22ND 1893.</p>	<p>J.V. SIMONSON CO. K, 18TH N.Y. CAV. [Jeremiah Simonson]</p>	<p>Unmarked [Charles Gloridge]</p>

Layout of the western side of GAR Plot, O'ahu Cemetery, including all grave marker inscriptions. The names of the GAR members are in bold. The O'ahu Cemetery records list Charles Gloridge as being buried in the unmarked grave. No Civil War service record was found for Gloridge nor was he mentioned in any GAR newspaper accounts.

<p>G.A.R. ANTHONY RICHLEY 1844-1921 75TH NYV. INF. CO. K.</p>	<p>LOUIS L. LAPIERRE CONNECTICUT SERGT. 3 ART. JANUARY 21, 1924</p>	<p>FATHER WILLIAM C. HAWKINS CO. D. 58 REG PENNA. VOL. 1846-1924</p>	<p>DANA B. NEWELL 1843-1927 FIRST CO. MASS. INFNTY. MARGARET E. NEWELL 1859-1932</p>
<p>GERHARD DIETZ 1846-1914 CO. D. CONN. VOL. INFNT.</p>	<p>WILLIAM MCCANDLESS PRIVATE CO. M. REC. IOWA CAV. 1837-1914 ALSO PRIVATE 1TH CO. S.S. NATIONAL GUARD OF HAWAII</p>	<p>JAS. O. LUTTED CO. H. 12 NY. CAV. [1915]</p>	<p>G.A.R. ROWLAND JAY GREENE 1836-1916 CO. B. 26 CONN. VOL. INF. RICH IN THE LOVE OF HIS FELLOW MEN</p>
<p>PHIL J. LAUTH OF LOS ANGELES, CAL. BORN IN FRANCE MARCH 8, 1841. DIED FEB. 25, 1886 <i>A member of</i> Frank Bartlett Post No. 6 G.A.R. HUSBAND</p>	<p>EDW'D HARRIS CO. B. 3RD NY. INF. [Edward Harris 1888]</p>	<p>C. N. ARNOLD 1846-1890 CO. G. 11 PA RES CECILIA N. ARNOLD 1857-1916 [Charles Arnold]</p>	<p>G.W. MUNSON CO. A. 6TH N.Y. INF. [George Munson]</p> <p>F. H. WHITAKER 1837 1912 [Frederick H. Whitaker, Co. B 19th Ill. Inf.]</p>
<p>LIEUT. COL. JOHN TOMS Co B. 27TH O. I. JULY 1 1837 TAUNTON ENG SEPT. 21 1901 KAPAA KAUAI</p>	<p>FATHER LOUIS ADLER BORN 1819 BREMEN, GERMANY DIED HONOLULU 1905 CO. A. 6TH. CAL. VOL.</p>	<p>ROBT. NELSON CO. H. 123 NY. INF.</p>	<p>CAPT. JOHN ROSS 1836-1910 ENSIGN U.S.N. 1861-1865</p>

Layout of the eastern side of GAR Plot, O'ahu Cemetery, including all grave marker inscriptions.

original order of the head of the GAR that established Memorial Day in the United States 55 years earlier.⁷³ Although located at the GAR plot, the ceremony of the day also featured empty chairs symbolizing the World War I dead.

The 1924 ceremonies welcomed “a meager half dozen veterans of the Grand Army of the Republic, gray-headed, no longer the sprightly blue-uniformed men who answered Abraham Lincoln’s call.”⁷⁴ The following year the *Honolulu Advertiser* called the “heroes tottering but proudly defiant.”⁷⁵ In 1926, James Devlin joins the list of GAR veterans participating in the “ritual” conducted by the Frederick Funston Post, Veterans of Foreign Wars.⁷⁶ Another veterans organization helped with decorations. An auxiliary of a World War I veterans organization, the American Legion, decorated the GAR plot.

The commemoration also drew another group that is now a mainstay of Memorial Day decoration of graves—the Boy Scouts.⁷⁷ The Boy Scouts would escort honored guests to their seats the following year.⁷⁸ In 1928 Boy Scouts held their own Memorial Day ceremony for John Kaulia, with a marker placed by Troop 10 of Kaimuki. The GAR veterans ranks that year had shrunk to four.⁷⁹ Of the four Civil War veterans at the 1929 ceremony, one was a Confederate, and one GAR member had arrived in Hawai‘i just two weeks earlier.⁸⁰ Governor Wallace R. Farrington used the occasion to focus on the possibility of peace that resulted from the war to end all wars. Farrington linked the past with the present “Every Memorial Day,” he said, “in its bearing on our great Civil War, is made brighter by the evidence that we as a people, among ourselves, have buried the dead hatreds of the past.”⁸¹

⁷³ “Thousands Join in Homage to Memory of Nation’s Dead” *HA*, 31 May 1923: 1.

⁷⁴ “Tributes Paid to Vets in Service,” *HA*, 31 May 1924: 7.

⁷⁵ Dougherty, Henry E., “Nation’s Dead are Honored Impressively,” *HA*, 31 May 1925: 1.

⁷⁶ “Heroic War Dead Honored by Entire City,” *HA*, 1 June 1926: 3.

⁷⁷ “Cemeteries Abloom in Memorial,” *HA*, 31 May 1926: 1.

⁷⁸ “Warrior Dead Honored with Solemn Rites,” *HA*, 31 May 1927: 2.

⁷⁹ *HA*, 31 May 1928: 12.

⁸⁰ “Nation’s Dead Honored by Whole City,” *HA*, 31 May 1929: 1.

⁸¹ “World Greatest Need is Men Trained to Preserve Peace, Says Governor,” *HA*, 31 May 1929: 1.

LAST MEMORIAL DAY CEREMONY AT THE GAR PLOT

On May 30, 1930, Governor Wallace Rider Farrington delivered the oration at the last Memorial Day ceremony held at the GAR plot: "Today we see the few surviving veterans of the Civil War, grizzled and gray, fading into the horizon."⁸² GAR members James Devlin and James Morelock attended the last gathering at the Nuʻuanu gravesite. By 1931 the Memorial Day march was no longer up Nuʻuanu to the GAR plot, but instead consisted of a parade from ʻAʻala Park to Thomas Square.⁸³ It was a Memorial Day ceremony that ironically lacked the presence of the Grand Army of the Republic, the group that had started the commemoration in the first place. The last GAR member, James Devlin, "was all prepared to participate in Memorial Day ceremonies which originated to do honor to his fallen comrades of the battles of 1861–1865—but nobody came to take him to the services."

"He was terribly disappointed' said Mrs. Devlin."⁸⁴

Devlin would not see the next Memorial Day. He died January 18, 1932,⁸⁵ and was buried in the GAR section of Oʻahu Cemetery, the last of Hawaiʻi's members to pitch his tent on "fame's eternal camping ground."⁸⁶

That year a new cenotaph, the "roster tablet of Hawaiʻi's sacrificed sons"⁸⁷ of World War I was dedicated in Waikiki, where Memorial Day ceremonies would center until the dedication of the National Memorial Cemetery of the Pacific honoring the World War II dead.

⁸² "Memories of Nation's Heroic Dead by Whole Community," *HA*, 31 May 1930: 2.

⁸³ "Holiday Observances," *HAA* (1932) 133.

⁸⁴ "Aged Civil War Veteran is Over Looked in Plans," *HA*, 31 May 1931: 2.

⁸⁵ "James Devlin, Last Civil War Veteran Dead," *HSB*, 19 Jan. 1932: 8.

⁸⁶ *Journal of the Thirty-Fourth National Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic* (Philadelphia: Town Printing Co., 1901) 246.

⁸⁷ "Holiday Observances," *HAA* (1932) 134.

